

MARYLAND COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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“Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”

JEFFERSON.

THE ABOLITIONISTS.

WE have ever made it a rule to keep the subjects of slavery and the organized Abolition societies of the north, entirely out of our pages, feeling that we have little to do with either, directly, and well knowing that no good could result from their discussion. But, the attitude assumed by the abolition party, of deadly hostility to the colonization scheme, manifested by most violent attacks from all its printed organs and associations, induces us, at least, to acknowledge the compliment, not however to repay in the same kind. We know, that, the majority of the colored people of the U. States have ever been opposed to colonization in Africa, we know that most of them opposed it in the outset and denounced the scheme. Against this prejudice and opposition, the Colonization Society has had to labor from the very beginning. We well know, that, at one time, when the society became involved in pecuniary difficulties, this clamorous opposition, from the very people it was endeavoring to advantage, had nearly broken up the organization, and we are confident, that, the existence of a colony on a barbarous coast, needing enlargement and protection to guarantee its permanency, was the main cause which induced its wearied friends to persevere in their exertions. It was then, that the genius of abolition triumphed, that its high priest, Garrison, with demoniac glee, pronounced its funeral oration and nothing remained but for the disorganizers to run riot through the land. Yet the time-worn and wearied Colonizationists labored, pleaded, entreated, not only with friends but foes, the pittance was begged, from door to door, to transport the freed captive to the land of liberty; the toiling colonist gradually saw brighter prospects in the distance, felt new hopes and aspirations rising in his heart; a second generation, whom the marks of servitude never deeply impressed, appeared on the scene of action, and the poor, despised, calumniated colony becomes

A FREE AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC.

Making all allowance for prejudice and chagrin at the success of a scheme which they had denounced, we would have supposed, that, clamor and opposition would have subsided into an undertone of grumbling, if not entire silence. But not so. The fact that colored people have founded an inde-

pendent sovereignty on the coast of Africa, that the governments of Europe recognise it, is utterly abhorrent to the *free* colored people of these United States. The annunciation of the fact is a signal for a renewed attack upon the Colonization Society, its allies and supporters and upon the officers and citizens of the Republic of Liberia. The war has been waged most fiercely for the past year, a war unparalleled, at least, in choice of weapons: not a war of *Barricades*, but of tirades and abuse, of imprecations and curses. The whole vocabulary of scurrility embracing Ernulphus' curse and Billingsgate seem to have been exhausted. The whole strength of the party, with every Balaam of his ass, has been impressed into their service to "curse me this people." But what avails it to "Curse, whom God hath not cursed, or defy whom the Lord hath not defied." The Colonization scheme we believe to be of God, so far as any scheme, left to human government and control, can be of God. We believe it originated from the best impulses of humanity, and the commands of God, to bind up the broken hearted and set the oppressed free. It was the ultimate and choice plan of those, who, had long meditated upon the ways and means to improve the condition of a suffering and oppressed race; and those who fight against it, we believe, "will be found even to fight against God."

We make these remarks, as introductory to the following extracts from an abolition paper. We had preserved a series of clippings of this character, for the past six months, intending to devote a whole No. of the Journal to them, but conclude upon reflection, that, the two following will suffice. We have omitted all of a general character, filled with violent denunciations against the founders and supporters of the society, and declamations as to the diabolical character of the scheme, "its origin in hell," &c. &c. Our object being, merely, to show our readers, who seldom see an abolition paper, the manner, in which colored editors speak of their Liberian brethren, (excuse us, Liberians.)

The first article we will introduce is an editorial of the North Star, signed M. R. D. which we believe indicates, that it was written by one of the editors, Dr. Delaney, a colored gentleman.

"**LIBERIA.** This country, originally comprising a tract of land obtained by the colonizationists of the United States, especially for the expatriation of the free colored people from their native land, on the west coast of Africa, may now be regarded as an independency, relatively, according to their own declaration. This infant colony is composed entirely of colored people, not exceeding five thousand in number, and however unfavorable the location, geographically considered, situated as it is, about the sixth degree of north latitude, might become a place of note and interest, had those into whose hands the destinies of the nation have fallen, been composed of a different material, morally and qualifiedly.

"In speaking upon this subject, we have no sympathy with the degrading, expatriating, insolent, slaveholding scheme of American colonization, but look upon Liberia, in its present state, as having thwarted the design of the original schemers, its slaveholding founders, which evidently was intended, as they frequently proclaimed it, as a receptacle for the free colored people and superannuated slaves of America; but we view it in the light of a source of subsequent enterprise, which no colored American should permit himself to lose sight of. This being understood, we shall proceed to review the

character of some of her prominent citizens, in doing which, we shall select the two heads of government, executive and judicial.

"Judge Benedict, chief of the supreme judicial department, whatever may be his literary qualifications, (which, to say the least, are of questionable repute, though perhaps the best that could be obtained, and equal to the emergency), is a person of no force of character or fixed moral principles. His wife, having been purchased by himself, who, according to the barbarous customs of the south, held a bill of sale against her person, finding a just cause for refusing to him the affections of her bosom, he sailed to Africa without her, where he again endeavored to win her affections to him; but this she refused, unless he agreed to separate his attachment to one who then, and for years before he sailed, which was not discovered by her previous to this time, had occupied the place of violator of her conjugal rights, and impious defiler of her sacred chamber, and who now had claims upon him as strong as the partner of his bosom."

There, if this last sentence and the "qualifiedly" at the end of the first paragraph, does not indicate the fitness of Dr. Dulaney to judge of the "literary qualifications" of Judge Benedict, then pray who is? The writer proceeds—

"On the peremptory refusal of his wife to live as the partner of her divided affections, he, (it is said), actually attempted to sell her to the first purchaser, trader or not, for any purpose for which a slave trader might obtain a female slave, offering the bill of sale through his southern agent, the attempt at which so aroused the southerners of her neighborhood, that they immediately interfered—slaveholders themselves interfering, who brought to their aid and assistance Judge Berrien, who indignantly opposed the act as being inhuman, though probably had it been any other case than an attempt by a husband to sell his wife, the judge, if never before, at this time was certainly a just judge, would have justified the act. And this man Benedict, guilty of the attempt to sell his own wife into hopeless servitude, is an expounder of the law, and a moralist—a minister of justice, and *model* man of Liberia! The better feelings of our nature recoil at the idea of the toleration of such a wretch in any capacity wherein pends the responsibility of our destiny, or hope of our elevation."

Now we call that pretty strong talk, especially, when based upon the ("it is said") in the second line of the first paragraph of the foregoing, (the parenthesis is his own.) It can hardly be supposed that a sane man, with a conscience, to boot, could pour such a calabash of venom upon the head of a *brother*, based only upon a mere *on dit* of the gossiping world. It is almost needless to say, that, no one, who knows Judge Benedict, will give the charge the least consideration.

But the main object of the Doctor seems to be, to show up President Roberts, and unfortunately for the President, his own sign manual is conclusive evidence of his guilt.

"But our intention was more particularly designed to call attention to the course pursued by J. J. Roberts, reputed president of the new republic, and who, for many years previous to the independence, held the official station of agent of the American Colonization Society, and governor of Liberia—a man whom the colonizationists and slaveholders in the U. States extolled to the skies—even that venerable slave-breeder and pre-eminent negro-dreader, the thrice honorable and thrice unlucky Henry Clay, pronounced to be equal to the most eminent of the executives and statesmen in our country.

"A person receiving such high elogium and commendation, would at least be expected to possess, and in his official intercourse especially, to manifest those elevated and ennobling traits of character—a high degree of self-respect, and a high sense of the importance of his position—a demeanor and dignity of purpose commensurate with his station as the executive of a free, sovereign independency, and honorable to the nation whose representative he is. This could at least have been hoped and expected of Roberts, whatever contempt we may have entertained toward him as a fawning servilian to the negro-hating colonizationists.

"This we were forced to expect of him, before we could conceive the idea and admit of his fitness for the station he occupied. Whatever prejudices we may have entertained toward him, after the declaration of independence of Liberia, we felt charitably disposed, and endeavored to make ourself believe that Roberts accepted of the position from the American colonizationists through policy, accepting of their patronage only until a favorable opportunity would ensue for the honorable establishment of a free, independent sovereignty. No one conceived for a moment that Roberts desired degradation, nor would voluntarily solicit submission. Contemptible as we conceived him to be, we never dreamed of the extent of his miserable, crouching baseness.

"Immediately subsequent to the independence of Liberia, either for the want of proper qualification on the part of others, or the result of his own political intrigue—most probably the latter—Roberts, though president of the republic, received the appointment by his country of envoy extraordinary, minister plenipotentiary, and commissioner, to negotiate with England, France, Prussia, and other governments, discretionary with himself, for a recognition of the independence of the Republic of Liberia, at present the last of republics, in the order of their sovereign establishment, and though the smallest, weakest and poorest, we are in hopes that it may yet become the greatest, strongest, and wealthiest on the globe.

"Roberts, in his mission to England, met with great success, having treated with Lord Palmerston, receiving many government favors at his hands. In France he met with a like success, with marks of distinction and attention due his rank. Many of the foreign ministers of different courts, much interested themselves in behalf of president Roberts, promising to do all they could with their governments to facilitate the objects of his mission.

Though up to this time, Roberts had been ignorant of the importance of his position and the destiny of his people—though for years he may have existed merely by sufferance, as the servile minion of the misanthropic Colonizationists of the South, and pro-slavery Colonizationists of the North, now that a new arena had been opened to his vision, a new field of action presented itself—an interest of sea and land, having called him into active service, where he stood unfettered and disenthralled, having cast off the menial garb of a slave, posted with the dignity of true manhood, clothed in the paraphernalia of a nation's representative, and armed with the proud panoply of a freeman's rights—these, the new scenes around him, this, his new and elevated position in the world, were, had he been susceptible of it, sufficient in themselves to make him sensible of the respect due to his people, if not his own importance as an equal.

But instead of that manly, dignified, statesmanlike course, such as became a Minister of State, his very first act after the marked distinction and distinguished favors received at the hands of governments and statesmen, is an act of the most pitiable degradation, the most blasting reproach and civil outrage upon his people, that was ever perpetrated by a mendicant.

Like the slave, "cap in hand, obedient to the commands of the dons who

employ them," bidden on an errand of his master, President Roberts no sooner concludes the business of his mission, a knowledge and official account of which was alone due to his own government, but he writes to A. G. Phelps, a Colonizationist of the United States, giving him an official report of his proceedings as the Minister of Liberia, an independent nation! If ever the curse of slavery were manifest in the character of man, it has fully exhibited itself in this man Roberts.

The degradation to himself might readily be extenuated, the act being strictly in character with the man; but the insult and disgrace meted to his people should not find palliation in his plea of ignorance. Not content with the stigma thrown into the face of the Liberians by his first report to Phelps, but adding aggravation to insult, promises that so soon as he arrives home to give him "a full and elaborate report" of all his doings.

Here, faithful to the trust reposed in him by his American white masters, this man Roberts discards the people whom he feigns to represent, considering it a condescension so to do, spurns at the idea of reporting to them the result of his mission, but as a serf to his lord, considers it an honor and special privilege to submit his doings first to a white man; hence, that malignant libeller of our race, A. G. Phelps, was selected and reported to over the heads of his country and people.

The acts and conduct of Roberts have a bearing not only upon the Liberians as a nation, but upon the whole colored race in America, since having descended from the American colored race, whatever marks the course of progress in his present position, will be seized hold of by the slaveholders and their abettors, as true evidence of the American colored man's character and susceptibility. Hence, we protest against his whole course in regard to his agency and intercourse, either directly or indirectly, with the Colonizationists, especially this crowning act of baseness and servility, in reporting his official doings to A. G. Phelps, a private white man in the U. States, instead of his country; averring, that do his government or the national council not impeach him for this act, they are unworthy of freedom, and only fit to be slaves."—M. R. D.

There, President Roberts, you seem to be pretty much used up, and we much doubt if you'll ever venture to write another letter to Anson G. Phelps, Esq.

Can our readers conceive, that the above tirade of abuse, malignity and falsehood was induced by the private letter of President Roberts published in our January No? It is generally known, that, Mr. Phelps invited Mr. Roberts and family to make his house, in New York, their home, during their recent visit to this country; and that the invitation was accepted. The letter, it will be recollected, was that of one gentleman to another, entirely unofficial, merely announcing his success in effecting the objects of his mission to Europe, expressing his obligations to Mr. Phelps for his kindness to him, and tendering his regards to the various members of his family. Further explanation or comment is unnecessary.

We close our extracts by giving an account of the opening of a "great Anti-Colonization meeting" held in New York on the 23d ult. for the avowed object of informing the people of England that the colored people of the United States do not wish to go to Liberia, &c. We shall only extract the speech of the chairman, in order to correct the misrepresentations therein contained, as we happened to be present on the occasion alluded to.

GREAT ANTI-COLONIZATION MEETING IN NEW YORK.

A large and enthusiastic meeting of the colored citizens of New York, was held on the evening of Monday, April 23d, and continued on the following evening, for the purpose of expressing their views respecting the Colonization Society, and a Mr. Miller, an agent of that Society now in Great Britain. The Anti-Slavery Standard has a phonographic report of the speeches delivered that evening, from which the following are extracts. We regret our inability to publish the proceedings entire.

Mr. J. W. C. PENNINGTON, on taking the chair, stated the object of the meeting in a short speech. After thanking the meeting for the honor done him, he said—

Early in the summer of 1848 our attention was attracted by certain movements of a few prominent Colonizationists in and about the city of New York. The arrival of His Excellency, J. J. Roberts, Rev. Beverly R. Wilson, William Russell and others from Liberia, was the occasion of this new effort. Several public meetings were held. At those meetings the President of Liberia and his associates united with Colonizationists, eulogized them for past success, praised them for present fidelity, and also blamed the colored people for withholding their confidence from them as a class. The last meeting of their series was held in the Broadway Tabernacle sometime about the latter part of July. There was a respectable attendance of the colored people of this city, who attended on invitation by public notice through the daily papers; but they found themselves grossly insulted by the Liberian delegation who reproved us in the most sarcastic terms for daring to love our native land. They were backed up by Elliot Cresson, Esq. who presided over the meeting, and by J. B. Pinney, who acted as a sort of master of ceremonies.—So outrageous were the insults offered to the feelings of the colored portion of the audience, that several of them felt called upon to protest against the uncourteous allusions and insinuations of the speakers. But how were they received? The Rev. Mr. McLean the Secretary of the Colonization Society, and if I am not mistaken, the gentleman who acted as chaplain of the meeting said to a colored minister who had made his way to the stand to reply: "You have no right to come here and interrupt our meeting." Elliot Cresson, the chairman, said "There is a meeting appointed for your people to-morrow evening at the Abyssinian Baptist Church."

At the meeting held in the Abyssinian church one alarming fact was elicited namely, that the accredited commissioners of the republic of Liberia were securing to the American Colonization Society by treaty, the control of their public lands out of which new States are to be formed.

The time has come when we must commence and fight the old battle over again. That battle, I mean the history of which is given in one part of Garrison's *Thoughts on Colonization*—the part comprising the voice of the free people of color. And I hope this will be one of a long series of meetings that shall be held in different towns and cities in the Union to give expression to the sentiments of the free people of color in relation to the American Colonization Society. If the Rev. Mr. Miller has been representing your sentiments truly and faithfully, by telling the British nation that you are ready and willing to go to Liberia, then let it stand so, and let it be endorsed to night by resolutions. But if it is not so, then say by your resolutions that such representations are untrue. (Applause.)

Now we take rather a different view of the transactions, above referred to, from Mr. Pennington. In the first place, the only insult offered to the colored people present, was a complaint by the speakers of the treatment they

had experienced from the colored people in this country, and for evidence of this we have only to refer our readers to the foregoing attack on President Roberts and Judge Benedict. As to the treatment the "colored minister" received, "who had made his way to the stand," we considered it altogether more courteous than any one could reasonably expect who had placed himself in that position, uninvited. The meeting was called, through the public papers, expressly to hear the speakers from Liberia, and not for abolition discussion. Of this, the Rev. Gentleman, (Mr. Pennington himself we believe,) was very civilly and politely informed when he "made his way to the stand;" but he persisted. The chairman begged him not to interrupt the regular proceedings of the meeting, yet, much to our astonishment, he was allowed to proceed until the audience gave unequivocal demonstrations of dissatisfaction, when the chairman told him, with proper firmness, that he must cease.

The "alarming fact" of which the gentleman speaks, elicited at the meeting in the Abyssinian church, was, that the commissioners on part of the Government agreed that certain portions of the public lands should be reserved for new emigrants, the particulars of which arrangements have been published in all the Colonization papers of the country. Much credit is, therefore, due to the abolitionists for their ingenuity in *eliciting such facts*.

We, are not sure that our readers will not demand an apology, for the *expose*, we have thus made of abolition literature, but as we said in the outset, we wished to show them how we were treated by this amiable party.

Another reason, we wished our colored readers, (and we believe there are many,) to see what *file leaders* they were following. Is it to such men, as pen the above paragraphs, that you look for articles of faith? Is it to such tirades of abuse and falsehoods, that, you owe your prejudice against the scheme of African colonization?

(From The Christian Mirror)

The following contrast is drawn by the Journal of Commerce, apparently after personal observation of the parties thus related. We suppose, notwithstanding the caption, and the first sentence, that the comparison embraces only the Garrison wing of the Abolitionists:

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.—The friends of these Societies do not seem to increase nor diminish very much. Fanaticism gains few converts after its out-break, and men cling to error with great tenacity after having once adopted it. A greater contrast, or one more completely satisfactory to the minds of good men, could not be found, than is exhibited by a comparison of the meeting of the American Anti Slavery Society with that of any one of the great Societies of the Christian Church. In the former, nothing was heard but denunciation of all that is good and pure and peaceable, and all that men and children have been taught to reverence; in the latter, the mild and holy doctrines of evangelical truth. In the former, undisguised and self-vaunting hatred to all men save one small class; in the other, peace and good will and love to all. In the former, each man vies with each in seeking opprobrious epithets and foul language to heap upon those who think differently from himself; in the latter, the golden rule of kindness and fervent prayer for those that err. If a man could possibly withdraw himself from the matters in controversy, and take a position as an impartial judge

to decide on the merits of their case by the tone and manner of the advocates, he could not long doubt. It is notoriously characteristic of the Abolitionists proper, that they give no man credit for sincerity. Calm argument is unknown to them, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury and others, are better known through their acquaintance with the vocabulary of Billingsgate, than in any other way. "Each man is his own vernacular," was the witty exclamation of the latter when he was loudly hissed on the stage. His audience were startled at the boldness with which he avowed that the language he was then using, (and which justly called forth the indignation of the respectable portion of his hearers,) was his own vernacular!

Wendell Phillips, the finished orator and advocate has already learned that the course pursued by his fellows is at once low and ineffectual. With the true perception of the gentleman, he, in his late speech, rose above the vulgarity of the man who preceded him, and gained the undivided attention of his audience. He has learned that denunciation will not operate, and he now resorts to argument. With what success, we leave those who heard him to determine. In our view his speech was a signal failure, and he seemed to feel it so. Twice or thrice he hesitated and stammered, as we have never before known him to do. Let us then ask, whether, in a comparison of the efforts of these men on Tuesday with the efforts of the Seamen's Friend, the Tract, the Home Missionary, and other Societies, they, or the latter, give best evidence of being in the right, and the best promise of ultimate good. One thing is certain. Until Abolitionism becomes decent and gentlemanly, and models itself somewhat after the ways of the Christian world, it will meet with contempt instead of sympathy.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

We copy with great pleasure the following remarks from the New York Observer of the present week. The spirit of them is so different from that of most articles which we meet with in northern papers of late, that, coming from a widely circulated and influential religious journal, and from an editor (S. E. Morse, Esq.) who with a christian heart has studied the subject of slavery in all its bearings more thoroughly than almost any other person within our knowledge, and who is accustomed to form his judgment deliberately, carefully, candidly, and in view of all the considerations pertaining to the case,—that we cannot but regard them as of real interest and importance. In the view we have taken of the subject in its present bearings and relations, as affecting not only the welfare of master and slave, and the prosperity of the Union, but even its existence, we have found ourselves almost alone; and if we cannot add, with old Elijah, "they seek my life," we can at least say that by our course in this matter we have brought upon ourselves, from certain quarters, no small measure of abuse. But when did ever a man oppose the current of public opinion around him, on a question where it was active and strong, without finding his integrity assailed and his motives impeached? It is a matter of course. Although it is always more pleasant to float with the current than to struggle against it, yet a conscientious man, who acts upon conviction, after using his best endeavors to understand a subject and his own duty, cannot be swerved from his course by any such considerations. To us the case is a plain one; and has become more so by the lapse of time. When the discussion began, it was not quite certain that the people of California and New Mexico, on being admitted into the Union as States, would repudiate slavery. But in regard to California, there is not now the slightest peradventure; nor scarcely any in re-

gard to New Mexico. Under such circumstances we say, that to force the Wilmot Proviso through Congress, against the unanimous voice of the slaveholding States, if not against the spirit of the Constitution itself, would be a wanton trifling with the feelings of our brethren of those States, and with the harmony of the Union, and therefore with the dearest interests of the country, of freedom, and of man. Let the Proviso alone, and all will be well. The harmony of the Union will be preserved—the shame and infamy of an open rupture will be avoided—while yet the *object* of the Proviso in regard to slavery in the new Territories, will be fully accomplished. It will not be accomplished *by* the Proviso, but without it, and in spite of it. There is nothing for us to do on the subject, except to empower the people of the new Territories to act for themselves—to form constitutions preparatory to their admission into the Union as States. This is provided for by Mr. Douglass' bill now before the Senate, which we sincerely hope will be adopted at the present session.

“We devote a large space in our columns this week to the addresses of the Southern Convention on the slavery question. The subject has now become deeply interesting, and, in the view of some, threatens the stability of our happy Union. It is time, therefore, that all who love their country should reflect seriously and prayerfully upon it, and speak and act as becomes Christian patriots. Our own views on the general subject have been frequently given; but we regard this as a proper moment for referring again to those considerations which should induce the North to avoid all action and language in reference to slavery, which will unnecessarily irritate the South. Among these considerations are the following:

“1. *Our Southern brethren are not responsible for the origin of the evil.*

“Slavery was forced upon the American people by Britain, to gratify her vile lust of gold, in opposition to the entreaties and remonstrances of the wise and good in every part of the land, and in every period of its colonial history.

“2. *It is not easy now to get rid of the evil, suddenly.*

“Slavery is the fundamental law upon which all the political institutions of the South have been based from the beginning. That law was established by Britain at the very commencement of the political existence of those communities. It gave to the white man despotic power over the negro. It constituted the whites a privileged class—the aristocracy of the land. The abolition of slavery in the South, would be, in other words, a voluntary surrender by this aristocracy, of the power and privileges which they hold under the ancient law of their country. Ought we to be greatly surprised, if this surrender should not be made suddenly, even though demanded by public sentiment in the North, and in every other civilized country on the globe? Where, in history, is there an example of the surrender by an aristocracy of their ancient powers and privileges, however exorbitant and oppressive those powers, and however earnest the demand for their surrender, when that demand was not backed by a competent physical force. No one wishes to see slavery abolished in the South by physical force, and without physical force, it would be a moral miracle if it were abolished suddenly. We must not be too impatient.

“3. *Our Southern brethren have done more to get rid of the evil than could have been reasonably anticipated.*

“When we reflect upon the demoralizing character of slavery, and the obstructions it opposes to all improvement, physical, intellectual and moral, we are prone to think at the North, that there can be nothing good in a community where such an institution exists. The census of 1840, however, shows that there are, as the result of voluntary emancipation, in little

Delaware, 11,000 free blacks, or more than five-sixths of the whole negro population of that State; in Maryland, 62,000 free blacks, or nearly one-half of the negro population of that State; in Virginia, 50,000 free blacks; in Louisiana, 25,000; and in all the slaveholding States, 215,000 free blacks, whose value as slaves, at the moderate estimate of \$500 each, would be more than \$100,000,000!—more than the boasted £20,000,000 which Britain paid for the emancipation of her West India negroes!—more than the aggregate of the State debts of the whole slaveholding section of the Union! This vast sum is the voluntary sacrifice made by Southern slaveholders on the altar of anti-slavery feeling and principle! In making it, thousands of noble-minded men have reduced themselves from affluence to poverty. One would think that such men could be safely trusted with the management of the anti-slavery cause in their own States.

“4. *Christ and his apostles did not denounce or irritate the Slaveholder.*

“They lived and preached in countries where the law gave man despotic power over his fellows, but they did not denounce the law or the men who held power under it. They did not require the despot to abdicate, or the slaveholder to emancipate his slaves, without regard to consequences. Paul did not aid and abet Onesimus in his escape from his master; nor did he threaten to cut his connection with the master, if he continued to employ the labor of the slave. He used no harsh epithets. He called Philemon, slaveholder as he was, his ‘dearly beloved fellow-laborer’ in the Gospel, and thanked God for his ‘love and faith,’ and all his noble Christian graces. He sent back the penitent runaway slave to his master with a courteous, conciliatory and affectionate letter, calculated to soften the feelings, and render all the future intercourse of the parties pleasant and profitable.

“5. *The Bible method of dealing with slavery and slaveholders is the best method.*

“The Bible is the source of all the rational liberty we enjoy. Wherever its principles are heartily embraced, slavery, or at least the evil of slavery, is sure to die. But how does it effect this? By denouncing the law, and stigmatising all who hold power under it? No. It does not seek to change the law as the first and great thing. It seeks first to change the heart of the master. It goes to him, and in the accents of christian love and kindness tells him ‘that his slave is his brother; made in the image of God his father; an object of his Saviour’s most tender love; endowed like himself with an immortal soul; possessed of powers which will expand forever; capable of being fitted here, in this momentary life, to enjoy ineffable glory with God, in heaven, through endless ages; and that such a being should be treated with all the consideration due to his near relationship, his vast capacities and his lofty destiny.’ It addresses not the fears, not the pride of the master, but the noblest feelings of his nature; and when it has thus gained the master, it trusts to him in due time to change the law, and until the law is changed, to deprive it of its power to harm. This is the Bible way of dealing with slavery, and it is the true way.

“The policy of the North is a ‘masterly inactivity,’ a ‘Let-alone,’ ‘Do-nothing’ policy.”

Why will not our friends, in the lower counties, give the North credit for such temperate and judicious sentiments as the foregoing? The Journal of Commerce, in which we find the above, is read by more people, at the North, than all the Abolition papers put together, and has more influence among the better class.—*Ed. Jour.*

MISSIONARY INFLUENCE OF SIERRA LEONE.

This colony was commenced in 1787, with colonists, most of whom had been slaves in our Southern States, and had served in the British army during the war of the revolution. In 1791 and 1792, it was reinforced by 1,200 colonists from Jamaica, who had first been removed to Nova Scotia, but found the climate too cold for them. Its prosperity was retarded by wars with the natives, wars among themselves, and the wars of England with France, during which it was ravaged by a French fleet. Its principal accessions have been, not civilized emigrants, but the cargoes of slave ships captured by British cruisers. They needed to be civilized and converted themselves, before they could exert any good influence on others. They have been brought in and landed there, till their number has risen to some 50,000, or 55,000.

The first missionary attempt in that region, except two feeble efforts which had previously ended in nothing, was made by the English Church Missionary Society in 1804; but the missionaries were instructed to find stations beyond the limits of the colony. In 1806, however, one of them was induced to serve temporarily, as chaplain for the colony; an office which the Sierra Leone company had been laboring in vain to fill for nine years. This, so far as appears, was the beginning of clerical labors in the colony. In 1808, the missionaries first found stations where they could labor beyond the limits of the colony. But in 1816, it was found that the colony, then numbering 9,000, or 10,000 inhabitants, was the most promising field of labor. In 1818, the last of their stations beyond its limits were given up, and the whole missionary force concentrated within the colony; "thus making Sierra Leone the base, from whence future exertions may be extended, step by step, to the very interior of Africa."

The Society now reports, missionary stations 16; missionary laborers, of various kinds, 146, of whom 128 are natives; average attendance on public worship, 7,628; communicants, 2,099; seminaries, 2; schools, 63; pupils, 4,979.

The English Wesleyans commenced a mission at Sierra Leone in 1817. They now report, schools, 45; pupils, 4,180; communicants, 4,883.

Both together report 108 schools, 9,169 pupils, and 6,982 communicants. But these members by no means give an adequate idea of what has been done. We must consider *where they are*.

In 1821, the Wesleyans extended their operations by commencing a station at Bathurst, a British settlement at the mouth of the Gambia, about 400 miles north from Sierra Leone. In 1832, they advanced 300 miles up that river, and commenced a station on Macarthy's Island, in a settlement of emigrants from Sierra Leone. Three of their schools, 354 of their pupils, and 292 of their communicants are at these stations.

In 1835, they extended their operations about 900 miles in the opposite direction, to Cape Coast Castle. Here were about 10,000 Africans, living under British rule. There had been a chaplaincy and a school in the fort nearly all the time since 1751. Some of the more enlightened among them had been at Sierra Leone, had become acquainted with missionaries there, and had requested the Church Missionary Society to send them one; but none had been sent. Their wishes having come to the knowledge of the Wesleyans, a mission was commenced there. In connection with this mission are 27 of their schools, 1,108 of their pupils, and 959 of their communicants. But these are not all at Cape Coast town. One of their stations is at Kumasi, the capital of the Ashantic Kingdom, about 100 miles inland. Others are scattered along the coast for 300 miles or more. One is at An-

namaboe; one at Accra, and another at Badagry, and still another at Abbekuta, 60 or 70 miles inland from Badagry.

The church missions, too, have been extended to Badagry and Abbekuta. At Badagry, they report 16 communicants, 2 schools, and 76 pupils; and at Abbekuta, 36 communicants, 2 schools, and 42 pupils. But as the history of this extension is very interesting and instructive, we must give it more particularly.

The great kingdom of Yoruba formerly extended from the ocean at Badagry, to the Niger near Rabbah. From Badagry across the country to Rabbah, may be some 300 miles; but the Niger flows from Rabbah, first toward the east, and then toward the south, at least 600 miles, to its numerous mouths in the Bight of Benin. About the year 1817, a series of wars broke out among the tribes owing allegiance to the king of Yoruba, in which the country has been ravaged, a large part of its towns destroyed, and multitudes of the people seized and sold to slave traders. Some estimate of the number seized and sold, may be formed from the fact, that such of them as were rescued from slave ships by British cruisers, form "a very large proportion of the population of Sierra Leone." One of them who arrived in 1822, when there were but few of his countrymen there, was baptized by the name of Samuel Crowther, has been educated and ordained, and is now at the head of the mission at Abbekuta. His mother, whom he found soon after his return, was one of five adults baptized February 6, 1848. Four children, his nieces, he found in slavery, redeemed them, and baptized them. But we are before our story.

Previous to 1845, several natives of Yoruba had left Sierra Leone and gone to Badagry, and some of them had penetrated the interior. They found old friends and relatives, who were delighted to see them again, and listened with interest to their account of the religion which they had learned at Sierra Leone. The report of their reception and of the encouraging attentiveness of the people to what they said of christianity, led to the establishment of the mission. We have already mentioned the Rev. Samuel Crowther as its head at Abbekuta. His three assistants are all natives of Yoruba, who, like himself, are rescued victims of the slave trade, educated at Sierra Leone. One of them, Mr. Phillip, schoolmaster, arrived at Abbekuta December 4, 1847; and a letter dated December 15, gives an account of his unexpected meeting with his mother and several sisters, from whom he had been torn twenty-one years before. We have already given the statistics of the mission, and stated that the Wesleyans also have stations at Badagry and Abbekuta.

The wars which we have mentioned, have resulted in the almost entire political dissolution of the kingdom of Yoruba. The several tribes which compose it now act independently of each other; but the same language still prevails from Badagry to the Niger, and thus a missionary influence can be exerted from the points already occupied through that whole region; and there are laborers in abundance at Sierra Leone, to carry the knowledge of the gospel to all its towns.

But this is not all. There is more to come, and the way is nearly prepared for it. We have said that Yoruba extends to the Niger. There it borders upon Haussa; or if Nufi intervenes, the distance is not great, and presents no formidable obstacle. A mission to Haussa is already planned, and the Rev. J. F. Schoen has been for some time studying the language at Sierra Leone, intending soon to proceed to that country. He can doubtless find at Sierra Leone, pious and educated natives of Haussa, who will not only teach him the language, but accompany him on his mission, and on his arrival, secure him a favorable reception among their friends. This move-

ment carries christianity across the Niger, 500 miles or more above its mouth.

Haussa borders on Bournu, the most important empire of Central Africa. Indeed it is said that Haussa itself is tributary to Bournu, and that the languages of both countries are so amalgamated on their borders that the people understand each other. There are natives of Bournu at Sierra Leone, and by their assistance, the Rev. S. W. Roelle is acquiring the language, proposing, when Mr. Schoen is established in Haussa, to go on beyond him into Bournu. He gives a literal translation of one of his teacher's narratives, in the following words:—

"My years were eighteen. There was war. At that time my mother died—my father died. I buried them. I had done. The Fullahs caught me. They sold me. The Haussa people bought us. They brought us to Yoruba. We got up. We came to the Popo country. The Popoes took us. To a white man they sold us. The white man took us. We had no shirts. We had no trowsers. We were naked. Into the midst of the water, into the midst of a ship, they put us. Thirst killed somebody. Hunger killed somebody. By night we prayed. At suntime we prayed. God heard our prayers. The English are pious. God sent them. They came. They took us. Our hunger died. Our thirst died. Our chains went off from our feet. Shirts they gave us. Trowsers they gave us. Hats they gave us. Every one was glad. We all praised the English. Whoever displeases the English, into hell let him go."

The unchristian wish in the last sentence was probably intended only as a strong expression of gratitude. The facts are important. This Bournu was not enslaved and sold by his countrymen, but by the Fullahs, with whom Bournu is often at war. From this we may infer that if he should return, his countrymen, instead of selling him again, would receive and protect him. The case is doubtless the same with others from Bournu. It also appears, that the road to Bournu is through Yoruba and Haussa, the very route contemplated by these projected missions. Guides and interpreters for the whole route, having countrymen and friends at the end of it, may be found among the recaptured Africans at Sierra Leone.

Let us survey the extent of their missionary influence.

From Sierra Leone to the Gambia, is about 400 miles, and from thence up the river to Macarthy's Island, is 300 miles more. So far the Wesleyan missions have extended themselves northward. From Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas is about 450 miles south-eastwardly, and thence to the Badagry, about 750 miles east, making the whole distance about 1,200 miles in that direction. From Badagry to Abbekuta is 64 miles inland. From Bathurst, at the mouth of the Gambia, along the coast to Badagry, is about 1,900 miles, and from Macarthy's Island, down the Gambia to its mouth, then along the coast to Badagry, and then inland to Abbekuta, is about 2,300 miles. So far missions have actually been extended, and are now in successful operation. The greatest gap in this line of missions is occupied by Liberia.

From Badagry, through Yoruba and Haussa, to the heart of Bournu, on the great lake Chad, must be nearly 1,000 miles. We have already told what means are prepared for this additional extension. The tributaries of Bournu probably extend to the Great Desert on the north, and to the head waters of the western branch of the Nile on the south-east.

It is worthy of special notice that this route strikes the Niger far above the pestilential delta at its mouth, and thus opens a practicable route to its rich and populous valley of more than a thousand miles above, as well as the valleys of its magnificent tributaries.

Such are the results, present and prospective, of a colony, far inferior to Liberia in every thing but age and numbers; and, if we may count the natives lately brought under the jurisdiction of Liberia, far inferior now in numbers.

Yet, in one respect, Sierra Leone has had a decided advantage over Liberia. American missions to Liberia have labored almost exclusively for the conversion of the *natives*, neglecting the colonists. British missionaries acted on the same principle till the experience of twelve years showed them their error; and then in 1816, they changed their policy. Thenceforth they made it their first object to convert the colonists; to produce a concentration of gospel light at Sierra Leone, the rays of which must of necessity penetrate the surrounding darkness. Some of the American missions in that part of the world have at length made the same discovery, and will henceforth act on the same principle, with vastly greater advantages than the British missions have enjoyed.

We must not close this article, without noticing the prospect of an American mission to Central Africa. The "Southern Baptist Convention" have, as we understand, resolved to send a mission to Yoruba, with a view to its ultimate extension inland. Two missionaries have already offered themselves for this enterprize—one of whom is from Florida, and, "has long contemplated the subject;" and other offers are expected. A committee having had the subject under serious consideration "for many months," say, in their Report, speaking of Yoruba:

"In this salubrious and productive kingdom, our missionaries might select a location, whence they might easily cross the Niger into Nyffe, "a very fine country, occupied by the most industrious and improved of all the negro nations," and thence extend their chains of stations eastward to the kingdom of Bournu, and even to Abyssinia.

"Located near the Niger, the commercial highway of that entire region, the missionary may, at any time, by means of the boats that ply on its waters, visit the numerous towns that stud its banks. Departing from Kattunga, the capital of Yariba, a town fifteen miles in circumference, with a large population, he may descend the river, visiting Rabba, Egga, which stretches for four miles along its western bank; Kacunda, with its "peaceable, friendly and industrious people; and proceeding on to the point of its confluence with the Tehadda, ascend the latter and preach Christ crucified to the immense multitude, of the Funda country. Or he may ascend the Niger, stopping at the countless intermediate towns and villages, up to Boosa, "the capital of a fertile and well cultivated country;" thence to Yaoori, encompassed by wooden walls, thirty miles in length, and finally reach Timbuctoo itself, the mart of an extensive trade, and distribute among its mixed population the word of life. Or he may diverge from the Niger, and ascend the river that leads to Soccato, "the largest city in the interior of Africa," and spread within its lofty walls those sacred influences, which will ultimately open its twelve gates to let the King of Glory in.

We dislike to say any thing discouraging to adventurous exploration, or missionary enterprise in Africa, but it pains us to see unnecessary sacrifice, even in a good cause. It does seem to us, that experience ought to have some weight in decisions where human life is concerned. We will not now, argue the judiciousness of the measure proposed, but will boldly predict, that, it will be unproductive of any greater good than a journal of suffering and failure.—*Ed. Jour.*

THE COLONISTS AND THE NATIVES.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. J. Payne, Protestant Episcopal Missionary at Cape Palmas, to one of the Bishops of that Church.

"The natives of the west coast of Africa, are not only deeply sunk in vice and superstition, but they have no written language, and, of course, no books—no schools. To raise them from such degradation must be the work of generations. I would not limit the power of God, while I pray daily may be manifested in the conversion of the adult population, which I pray, preach and labor for this end. But, guided by the light of the past, all intelligent minds must agree that the moral renovation of such a people involves a long, systematic, and toilsome work. The language must be reduced to writing, schools established, the Word of God and other religious books translated and distributed, ere the blessings of Christianity can be permanently secured to these people. It is obvious that, in order to the accomplishment of these objects, an adequate supply of well-qualified ministers and teachers must be provided. And the important question arises, whence are these to be obtained.

"Will the church in the United States furnish them? I think that facts shows that she will not. During the twelve years of this mission's existence, *twenty* white laborers, male and female, have been connected with it. Of these there remain in the field, at the present moment, myself, the only clergymen, with my wife and Dr. Perkins, making *three in all*! Some have died, and others have withdrawn on account of ill health, or different reasons. But as these causes are likely to be permanent, it is proper to judge of the future by the past, which fully sustains the opinion just expressed, that the wants of the mission are not to be supplied from the church at home.

"There appears to me to be quite as little prospect of an *immediate* supply of suitable *native* agents. The view has been expressed, that in China such an agency may reasonably be hoped for, from the present generation. But this based upon the idea, that the Chinese are the Romans of existing Heathendom. However this may be, it is very certain that the *people of India* are very much superior to those of Africa. And yet, after generations of missionary toil, what is the result, so far as an adequate supply of superintendents and clergymen is concerned? In one of his communications, written, I think, in 1846, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta declared his conviction, that from *future generations* alone, was there any reasonable hope of obtaining a competent native agency for that field. 'A fortiori,' there is *less* prospect here.

"There remains but one other source to which we can look for suitable instruments to sustain this mission. And this, in the Providence of God, is immediately at hand. It is the American Colony, within whose bounds our operations are confined. To some it may appear unaccountable that the same advantage should not raise to a like standard the heathen and the Christian child. But not so to those who have carefully observed the gradual steps by which barbarous nations advance to Christian civilization. The process resembles that by which infancy attains to the maturity of manhood. It has its childhood and its youth, with all attending imperfections; and it is only *men* who are qualified to be guides and instructors, so it is found that heathen nations, even after they have been converted must pass through their childhood and youth, before they furnish characters of sufficient maturity to be entrusted with their spiritual care. Now the Americo-African Colonists having been long living under the influences of

Christian civilization, have passed through the stages of childhood and youth. They are struggling rapidly into *manhood*. With all the disadvantages to which their social condition subjected them in the United States, they are, to say the least, a century in advance of their heathen neighbors. Moreover, by constitution they are adapted to the climate, and what is of still greater consequence, here is their and their children's *home*. The latter will grow up here, and by constant intercourse with the natives, become perfectly familiar with their languages and customs. Now, it is from amongst these children that I would have the church train up her teachers and ministers for Africa. Colonists already fill every civil office in Liberia, the higher ones, most ably; why should they not also, in time, fill all in the churches?"

OUR NEXT EXPEDITION, AND THE CHOLERA.

In our last we announced that the Packet would, probably, be in port about the 1st of July, and sail on her sixth voyage about the 1st of August. We ought to have added, "Extraordinaries excepted." Should the Cholera prevail in the city about that time, the Expedition will, of course, be deferred until its abatement. Nothing would justify bringing emigrants into the city at such a time, still less, putting them on board a passenger vessel. Our friends will bear this in mind.

BALTIMORE, *May 1st, 1849.*

DR. JAS. HALL,

Sir—I acknowledge the receipt of donations and subscriptions to the Colonization Society, Journal and Packet, for the month of April, as follows:

G. & V. Spreckelson,	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$5 00
G. Gover,	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 00
Wm. L. Hearn, (Cambridge,)	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 00
T. Hodgkins, (Smithville,) Packet,	8 00
Wm. Morton, (P. Frederick)	10 00
Young D. Hance, (do.) Packet,	10 00
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S. Kramer,	do.	1 00
A. B. Kyle,	do.	1 00

\$48 00

Yours, with high respect,

JNO. W. WELLS, *Trav'g Agent.*

TERMS.

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